MODERN POLICIES,

Taken from

Machiavel, Borgia,

And

Other choiſe Authors, by an Eye-Witneſs.

Hom. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν νοέω, καὶ φράζομαι.

Saluſt. Fragm.

Libidinem dominandi, cauſam belli habent, & maximam gloriam in maximo imperio putant.

Plautus in Captivis.

Nam doli, non doli ſunt, ni ſi Aſtu colas.
Sed malum maximum ſi id palam pervenit.

Trinummus.

Ambitio jam more ſancta'ſt, libera'ſt a Legibus.
Petere honorem pro flagito, more fit:
Mores Leges perduxerunt jam in poteſtatem ſuam.

The Seventh Edition.

London, Printed for *Thomas Dring*, at the ſign of the George in Fleetſtreet, neer Cliffords-Inn, 1657.

BIBLIOTHECA·BODLEIANA

To my very good Lord,

My Lord R, B, E.

My Lord,

I Was never so proud, as to think I could write any thing that might abide the test of your judicious eye: what I now send, appeals to your Candor, entreating you to lay aside the person of a Judge, for that of a Friend. It is at best but a Pamphlet, whether you consider its

bulk, or worth. The reſult of a few penſive houres ſpent in recollecting what the memory had regiſtred from publique obſervance, or private reading, in a Theme ſo ſadly copious as this is. If it be not impertinent to tell you what hinted to thistrifle, it was this: Having had opportunity to look abroad into the World, I took ſome notice of the Contraſtos of the *Italian* Princes, I remarked the *Spaniards* griping *Portugall*, his grounds for the Challenge of that Kingdome, and his way of managing thoſe grounds; I look't upon his method of propagating Chriſtianity in the *Weſt*; (where one ſayes, The *Indian* is bound to be religious and poor, upon pain of death.) Moreover, I obſerved with what Artifice the *Pope* moderated in the *European* quarrels, and with what devices he twiſted the Goſpel, and the

advantage of the Chair together, and in all the ſtruglings and diſputes, that have of late years befallen this corner of the VVorld, I found, that although the pretence was fine and Spiritual, yet the ultimate end and true ſcope, was gold, and greatneſs, and ſecular glory. But *My Lord*, to come near, when I ſaw Kingdomes tottering, one Nation reeling againſt another, yea, one piece of a Nation juſtling the other, and ſplit into ſo many parties, and petty enmities; and each of theſe quoting Bible to palliate his mad and exorbitant opinions: I ſighed, and it grieved me to ſee popular eaſineſs, and well-meaning, abuſed by Ambitious ſelf-ſeeking men; for there is a Generation that is born to be the Plague, and Diſquiet, and Scourge of the Age it lives in;

that gladly Sacrifiſe the publick Peace to private intereſt: and when they ſee all fired, with joy warm their hands at thoſe unhappy Flames, which themſelves kindle, tuning their merry Harps, when others are weeping over a Kingdomes Funeral.

But, above all, it peirceth my heart to ſee the Clergy in ſuch an high degree acceſſory to the civil diſtempers and contentions, that have every where ſhaken the Foundations of Church and State, ſo that (as the Catholick noted) there hath been no floud of miſery, but did ſpring from, or at leaſt was much ſwell'd by their Holy-water. I ſearched the Evangelical Records, and there was nothing but mild and ſoft Doctrines: I inquired into the breathings of the Spirit, and they were pacificatory, I wondred from what Precedents and Scripture

ture-incouragements these men deduced their practices, and at last was forced to conclude, that they were only pretended Chaplains to the Prince of Peace: Those Torches that should have been for saving Light, were degenerated into fire-brands; Those Trumpets that should have sounded Retreats to popular furies, knew no other Musick but Martial All-arm's.

I have endeavoured in the Sequel, to represent to you the Arts of Ambition, by giving you the picture of a Person over-covetous of glory: The piece is coorse, but yet like; drawn only in water colours, which some of greater Leisure and Abilities may possibly hereafter lay in Oyl.

You know, that the desires of man are vast as his thoughts, boundless as the Ocean, πίθος τετρημένος ἀπέραντος ἀπιθυμίας, *Jamblicus.*

bored Tub is not more insatiate. 'Tis pitty that greatness should at any time be out of the Rode of goodness; and I would sometimes, if I durst, with *Socrates*, curse him that first separated, profitable, and honest.

It does to me a little relish of Paradox, that where ever I come, *Machiavel* is verbally cursed and damn'd, and yet practically embraced and asserted; for there is no Kingdome but hath a Race of men that are ingenious at the peril of the publick; so that as one said of *Galba*, in respect of his crooked body, *Ingenium Galbæ male habitat*; so may I say of these, in regard of their crooked use; That wit could not have chosen a worse mansion, than where it is viciated and made a Pander to wickedness.

If you ask me, what I mean to trouble the World, that is already un-

under ſuch a glut of Books; You may eaſily perceive, that I conſulted not at all with advantaging my name, or wooing publique eſteem by what I now write; I knew there was much of naked truth in it, and thought it might poſſibly be of ſome caution to prevent the inſinuation of pious frauds, and religious fallacies, into my native Country; If any plain-hearted honeſt man ſhall caſt away an hour in peruſing it, he may perhaps find ſomething in it, reſembling his own thoughts, and not altogether ſtrange to his own experience. It is not the leaſt of our misfortunes, that ſins and vices are oft-times endear'd to us by falſe Titles and Complements; being couz'ned with a ſpecious name, though much incoherent to the thing we aſcribe it: or elſe, omitting the vice which is

the

the Main, it intimates only the vertue, which is the By : As for example, we call an ambiguous man μεγαλεπήβολον, a person of Noble aim, and high enterprize: whereas in truth, it signifies, an indirect affector of Grandeur : And I find, that by entertainment of these Phrases, our judgements are often bribed to misapprehensions, and we seduced to bad actions. I have endeavoured in the ensuing discourse, to wipe off the paint and fucus : that so things may appear in their true complexion, unadulterated with the slights and subtilities of Deluders.

My Lord, That your Lordship may be one of those which the dark Poet calls δὶς ἡβήσαντα, that the youth of your Honours may be renowned to you, that your hap-

happineſs may know no other ſeaſon but a Spring, is the earneſt vote

Of your bounden
SERVANT

W. Blois.

To

To the Reader.

Reader,

THat nothing in this might deter a common eye, the quotations are tranſlated, not κατὰ πόδας, but as might beſt ſerve the ſenſe and ſcope of the Author: yet I believe thou wilt find little in the Engliſh, which is not warranted by the Original, or (which is more) by the Truth. I invite none to it, but ſuch as deſire to be juſt valuers, and loyal obſervers of a good Conſcience. Now, if thou beeſt not baniſhed by the verdict of thine own breaſt, thou art welcome; otherwiſe read it, not as directed to thee, but meant of thee. This Book is like a Garment in a Brokers Shop, not de-

designed to any one person, but made for any that it fits.

My intent was to represent to you in the General (not mentioning particulars) a cursed, a wicked, but yet a fortunate Politician: 'Twas a good caution, that Cassius *gave the Senate, concerning* Pompey, Nos illum deridemus, sed timeo ne ille nos gladio ἀναμυκτηρίσῃ. *'Tis foolish to laugh in the face of* Dionysius, *and dangerous to shrug before* Andronicus: *'Tis not good to tempt the displeasures of Tyrants upon idle scores, a thin shield will serve to keep out the style of a Satyrist; nor can I commend him that lost his Bishoprick for a Romance.*

Therefore I brand not persons but things; and if any mans guilt flashes in his face when he reads, let him mend the error, and he is unconcerned. 'Tis to no purpose to tell that there is a second part, twin, and coetaneous to this, that was once in-

ten-

tended to run the ſame fortune; but I have many reaſons, beſides my own weakneſs, to publiſh a valediction to the Preſs (eſpecially as to diſcourſes of this nature) And if ever, I would fain have it ſeen by a fairer light.

The great God of Heaven pour into us ſuch inward props and comforts, as may help us to ſtem and bear up againſt the rugged traverſes of degenerous times.

And let it beget in us milder opinions of adverſity, when we conſider that the winter of affliction does the better fit us to bear the eternal verdure of Glory.

The time will come, when all ſhadows and apparitions ſhall vaniſh: Glorious Morn! when wilt thou dawn? Then theſe ſullen Clouds ſhall be ſcattered, Right reſtored, Worth prized, Vertue honoured, Vice degraded, and Honeſty rewarded. Farewell.

THE Name of *Prince*, which I often uſe, muſt be underſtood, as convertible with any perſon, or perſons, whom God hath intruſted with a juſt ſupremacy; all the dialects of Government being concerned in the abuſe; I have made the chief, and moſt familiar to repreſent the reſt.

I am not ignorant, that the Quotations may juſtly ſeem more numerous than Method, and the rule of Art will conveniently allow. I have this to ſay, to vindicate me from affectedneſs; that I have been little ſtudious of Elegance, and curioſity in the compoſure; eſteeming nakedneſt to be the beſt dreſs of Truth: and if I miſtake not, thoſe attendants I have here procured her, may afford ſome material, though little ornamental advantage.

A Præmonition.

IT is farr from the design of this Treatise, to derogate from the honour of the calling, or worth of the person of any sober Statesman; 'Tis a knowledge that no man observes with more due respects than my self; Because, I know it in no mean degree essential to the peace and flourishing condition of a Kingdome or Common-wealth. 'Tis a jewel to be locked up in some few rare Cabinets; and not to be made cheap, and expos'd to irreverence, by being bared, and prostituted to every vulgar eye. The *Pseudo-Policy* here mentioned, is contradistinct to that science which is ever built upon Piety and Prudence; for upon these solid Bases, your wise Architect delights to raise the glorious su-

ſtructure of Government in a Prince, and Subjection in a People: ſo knitting the intereſt of both, with reciprocal mixture, that the welfare of the one may be involved in the good of the other: that Majeſty may be preſerved in its juſt ſplendor, and yet the liberty of the Subject remain inviolate: He is the *Atlas* of the falling State, cures it when ſick, ſets it when disjoynted, meets it in its ſeveral preſſures with ſuitable reliefs. Such was *Philip de Commines*, of whom one ſaid, It was a meaſuring caſt, whether *Lewis* were the wiſer King, or *Philip* the wiſer Counſellor; ſuch was *Burleigh* to our late Queen *Elizabeth*, whoſe advice had very eminent influence into the proſperity of her Reign, which was ſuch as I believe few ages can parallel, and future times will render her happy Annals, as written like

like *Xenophons Cyrus*, *Non ad historiæ fidem sed ad exemplum justi Imperii*; *discovering not so much what was, as what should be: not intended for a true History, but for the Effigies of a just Empire.* So that if we love peace, or plenty, or liberty, we are bound in way of acknowledgement, to own that in *Plutarch*, τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς ἄνθρωποι κλῆσαι τελειοτέραν. *Cato Maj.* True Policy deserves to be put in the first file of vertues.

But as the corruption of the best things makes them worst, so this noble knowledge hath been abused to loose and ambitious ends, by some men who seem to have suck'd the venome out of all politicks, misapplying what was good, and creating new, according to the urgency of their own occasions, like the Laws that were made in *Causinus* his *Babel*, to be ruled by manners, *Ophyogenes, & Psylli.*

Furialibus commentariis illustran.

and not manners by Laws. They vex true Policy by miſ-interpreting, and falſe gloſſing; framing in their hearts, *Dianaes* of hypocriſie and ſubtility, and worſhipping them in their actions.

The Rules following, there are few ſo ſilly as to believe, though too many ſo wicked as to practiſe; and not only ſo, but by a bold impoſture to perſwade, that ſuch actions as are deduc'd from thoſe principles are juſtifiable, and if fortunate, commendable.

That all may ſee theſe Rocks and ſhun them, and deteſt Knavery, though never ſo ſpecious, and nauſeat ſin, though robed in ſucceſſes, and triumphs, is my dayly prayer.

First Principle.

The Politician must have the ſhadow of Religion, but the ſubſtance hurts.

THere is no Superſtition in Politicks more odious, than to ſtand too much upon niceties and ſcruples: and therefore *Machiavel* cut the hair, when he adviſed, not abſolutely to diſavow conſcience, but to manage it with ſuch a prudent neglect, as is ſcarce diſcernable from a tenderneſs: not permitting it to be techy and reluctting, nor yet proſtituting it, unleſs upon ſolemn and inſuperable occaſions: He notes it from *Papirius* in *Livy*, who ſlighted the *Pullarii*

handſomely, and was rewarded; whereas *Appius Pulcher* did it groſly, and was puniſhed.

But becauſe the Politician is beſt able to tell his own documents, you may pleaſe to conceive you found theſe broken diſcourſes in his ſtudy: to each of which I ſhall add an Antidote.

External holineſs invites awful regards; there is no maſk that becomes Rebellion and Innovation ſo well as Religion; Nothing that ſo much conceals deformity, and pretends beauty. 'Tis an excellent thing ſo to diſſimulate piety, that when we act ſtrongly againſt it, in that very article of wickedneſs the people Saint us. *Herod* would fain worſhip, when he means to worry.

--- *Ipſo ſceleris molimine* Tereus
Creditur eſſe pius:

In th' act of ſin do but Religion cry,
Says Tereus, *you as holy are as I.*

This is that which leads the world in a ſtring, that hallows the moſt helliſh enterpriſes: for the common people (which are the τὸ πολὺ) never ſee behind the Curtain, a handſome gloſs is with them as good as the Text; I believe the great Naturaliſt was in the right, when he called a Deity a jolly invention, *Irridendum, agere curam rerum humanarum quicquid eſt ſummum, ſed credi ex uſu vitæ eſt*; *'Tis ridiculous to think that God troubles himſelf about ſublunary things, but tis not fit the world ſhould know it.* Let me enjoy the temporal advantages of Religion, and let others take the eternal; Let me uſe it for a Cloak or a Crutch, and let others expect from it a Crown. *Plin. l. 2. Cap. 6.*

The River in *Athenæus* is my em-

43 *Fons in Mileto, cujus profluens aqua dulciſſima, quæ verò in imo ſalſa.*

emblem, whoſe upper waters were ſweet and grateſull, but towards the bottom brackiſh. Let me be a ſuperficial, let others be fundamental Chriſtians: I like the humor of the *Samſeans* in *Epiphanius*, that were neither *Jews* nor *Gentiles*, nor *Chriſtians*, but preſerving a *commodious* Correſpondence with all; whatſoever I act in reference to Heaven, is meerly theatrical; and done in ſubordination to ſome other intereſt. *Lycurgus* could never have ingratiated his Laws ſo effectually, if he had not pretended a Dialogue with his Goddeſs. 'Tis to me indifferent, whether the Religion I perſonate be true or falſe, ſo it be but popular: and if the people I mean to juggle with, err fundamentally; I can by no means court them more, than by embracing their deluſion. It buckles them very cloſe to me

in

in moral obſervance, to aſſiſt them in their ſpiritual fondneſs, and mix with their diſtemper; and therefore I commonly lead the Van in the Faction, and call it *Jure Divino*, though I never found it but in Hells black Canons.

How comfortably the *Pope* and *Cardinals* conferred notes, ----- *Quantum nobis lucri peperit illa fabula de Chriſto? How profitable has the Tale of Chriſt been to us?* O the rich income and glorious reſult of Hypocriſie; This, this muſt be diligently ſtudied and practiſed.

---- *Da juſtum ſanctumque videri,*
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem.
If that my deeds of darkneſs may
Be hid in Clouds as black as they;
If being ugly I may paint,
Why then I am a true new Saint.

Pri-

Privacy for a ſin, and cleanly conveyance for a cheat, make it to common eyes ſeem as white as innocency it ſelf; the ſtrictneſs of that Thief was very notable, who alwayes before he went about the work of his Calling (for ſo he called ſtealing) went to prayers, that God would bleſs and proſper him: So, I ſay grace to the Deſign, be it never ſo wicked, and give thanks for the ſucceſs, be it never ſo bloudy.

But further in ſubſerviency to a looſe intereſt, there muſt be no ſuch puling thing as Conſcience: Hell, and Heaven, and Scripture, and what elſe the Chriſtian eſteems moſt ſacred, muſt all truckle under the plot, but not be obſerved when they come to oppoſe it: Had *Alexander* boggled at invading other mens Kingdomes, he had never wept for the ſcarcity of Worlds. There is no greater

ter obſtacle to generous Actions, than a coy and ſquemiſh Conſcience; 'Tis pretty that ſome tell us, that it ſtrikes *Surdo verbere, With a ſtill and ſilent ſtroke*; and then how can it be heard in the noyſe and buſtle of a clamorous World? Had your mighty Conquerors, and your valiant Captains, and your thriving Popes, liſtned to this inward Charmer, their Names had never ſwell'd, and look'd big in the Rolls of Fame.

Cola-

Colaſterion.

BUT let all ſober Chriſtians know, that this Shell of Religion, though it may be of external conducement, yet there is nothing that Gods pure and undeluded eye looks on with more abhorrency: We may poſſibly deceive men, but it is in vain to put Ironies upon God. A counterfeit Religion ſhall find a real Hell, and 'tis pitty that ſuch a ſacred thing ſhould be *violenced*, and made ſubſervient to rebellious irregular deſigns.

As for ſuch who have conſpir'd with the wrath of God in the ſtupefaction of their Conſciences, though they may for a time ſtrug-

gle

gle with those inward checks, yet there will be a day (if not in this life) when that Witness, that Judge, that Jury, will not be bribed. God hath fixed it in the soul, as an internal Register, as an impartial Diary, as the *Censor* of the Affections, and Pædagogue of the Passions. It does not only illustrate Divine justice in an *Autocatacrisy*, but was meant by God for a bridle and restriction: And he that hath by an inveterate wickedness conquered the opposition which God seated in his heart to sin, may possibly consult well with his present advantage and greatness, but not at all with his future comfort; for besides the loss of that intimate pleasure which waits upon innocency, He feels sometimes, those Bosome-quarrels that verberate and wound his Soul, --- for

Origen.

Vinum in pectore

Συνείδησις τὴν Ψυχὴν σωλήτ[illegible]ει.

Prin-

Principle II.

The Politician muſt by all means make the moſt inſinuating applications to the People that he can; and lock up his own deſign, in pretence for Religion, Liberty, Reſtitution of Laws, Reformation of Gabels, &c.

THE Proſperity of Innovation depends in a high meaſure upon the right knack of kindling and fomenting jealouſies, and diſlikes in the people; and then wielding thoſe Grudges to the

the favour and advantage of private ends; for the people are to the Politician, like Tools to the Mechanick, he can perform nothing without them, they are his wings, his wheels, his implements, the properties that he acts with.

That this may be done effectually, there must be an excellency in these following slights.

First, To assign such a cause of grievances, and such a course for redress, as may open a way to the alteration he aims at: as, if he means to alter the Government, or to engross the Supremacy, he must artificially convince of a necessity to arm, 1. Defensively, and if that succeeds, 2. Offensively; This he may do by false Alarms of danger, inventing horrid news, and plying the people with such fictitious perils, as may make them believe,

Reli-

Religion and Liberty, and all is at ſtake, and that they are the Geeſe that muſt ſave the Capitol.

Secondly, When he ſees opportunity to reveal his own deſign, he muſt do it gradually, and by piece-meal; for that which at one view would be a Mormo to fright them, give it them in ſmall parts, and they will digeſt it well enough.

ἐκ προσαγωγῆς.

Thirdly, He muſt compoſe his very Garb and Geſture: 'tis a great matter to tell a lye with a grace; as, if Religion be the Mode, he muſt in his tales knock his breaſt, atteſt God, and invoke imprecations upon himſelf if he does not do that, which he never intends.

Fourthly, he gives them good words, and bad actions, like thoſe the Hiſtorian brands with a *Crudelitatem damnatis, crudelitatem*

tatem initis, raviſhes them with apprehenſions of Liberty, under the higheſt ſtrain of Oppreſſion: for it is moſt certain, if you pleaſe them with the name, they will imbrace it for name and thing. Something like this had been impoſed upon *Rome*, when the Orator writ to his Friend *Atticus*, --- *Nomina rerum perdidimus, & licentia militaris libertas vocatur*, that they were cheated in names, for Military Licenſe was miſcalled Liberty; This is well deſcribed by *Plautus* in *Truculento*. *Ingenioſi muſcipulatores.*

In melle ſunt linguæ ſitæ
veſtræ, atque orationes,
Lacteque: corda felle ſunt
ſita, atque acerbo aceto.
E linguis dicta dulcia datis,
at corde amarè facitis.
Pretence white as milk,
And as ſoft as ſilk,
Will do the feat:

Your hearts as sowr as Gall,
Purpose our thrall,
And thus you cheat.

Fiftly, he observes, that they receive probabilities wisely propounded, more greedily than naked truths: and therefore he is very studious to glaze and polish his Impostures, that so they may to a loose eye dissemble truth, according to that of *Pindar*,

γλυκὺ ψεῦδος. ——— Βροτῶν φρένα ———
ὑπερ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον,
δεδαιδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις,
ἐξαπατῶνται μῦθοι

Glorious Lyes,
Well marshal'd tales
Do still find favour:
Truth all forlorn
Intreats aud wooes,
But none will have her.

But that of *Menander*:

τὸ πιθανὸν ἴσχυν τῆς ἀληθείας ἔχει

ἐνίο-

ἐνίοτε μείζω, ἢ πιθανοτέραν ὄχλῳ.

Let but the vulgar judge
(the Poet knew)
They'd take the probable
and leave the true.

Sixtly, when he hath by the assistance of the people, got the Sword into his own hands, he aws them with it, and frights them into future compliance. He that courted them before with all the adulatory terms that ambition could invent, or they receive; as if he had been vow'd their Martyr, and ready to sacrifize his deareſt enjoyments upon the Altar of publick liberty and freedome, as if his veins knew no other blood, but such as he would be proud to spend in their service; having now served himself of them, he forgets the bosome that warmed him, they hear from

him now in a palinode; he curles up his ſmooth Complements into ſhort Laconick, and exchanges his Court-ſhip for Command.

Cola-

Colaſterion.

FIrſt, we may be aſſured, that there is no greater Index of ambition than an affection of popularity: which appears in meek addreſſes to the people, wooing and familiar condeſcenſions, bemoaning their ſufferings, commending a more vigorous ſenſe of them; that of the *Comick* is no bad rule,

Non temerarium eſt ubi dives blande appellat pauperem,
Altera manu fert lapidem,
panem oſtentat altera:
Nemini credo, qui longe
blandu'ſt dives pauperi.

'Tis not for nought, when thoſe above
Tender their ſervice and their love.
Theſe are but profitable Arts,
Their tongues are ſtrangers to their hearts.

Or that which *Livy* notes of a Grandee, *Credebant haud gratuitam in tanta ſuperbia comitatem fore, Pride never condeſcends without deſign.* The extreme kindneſs of fawning of great perſons, is alwayes ſuſpicious, becauſe often fraudulent: remember the *Sileni*, that uſe to kill with hugs and embraces.

Secondly, know, it is very uſual for men to perſonate goodneſs, till they have accompliſhed their ends; 'tis obſerved of *Appius*, when he had his wiſh, *Finem fecit gerendæ alienæ perſonæ; He left wearing of another mans perſon*: 'tis an old note,

Maxima pars morem hunc homines habent; quod ſibi volunt,
Dum id impetrant, boni ſunt, ſed id ubi jam penes ſeſe habent,
Ex bonis peſſimi, & fraudulentiſſimi ſunt.

Before the man
Had got his end He

He was all Puritan:
What he would have
He thus obtain'd,
And then resumed Knave.

Athenæus tells a pretty story of one *Athenion*, born obscurely, who as long as he was private and poor, excelled in a soft and tractable disposition; but when by jugling he had obtained the *Athenian* Government, there was none more odious for a cruel, covetous and barbarick tyranny: as it is reported of *Caligula*, there was never a better Servant, and a worse Master.

Thirdly, we know, that a good aim, much less a good pretence cannot justifie a bad action; and therefore we ought to be as Solicitous about the lawfulness of the means, as about the goodness of the end. It is a *Maxim* in Morality, that *bonum oritur ex integris*, and in Christianity, that we must not

do evil, that good may come of it; and we may possibly rescue our selves from future couzenage, if we examine the lawfulness of every circumstance, leading to the end propounded, before we are tickled and transported with the beauty of the pretence.

Prin-

Principle III.

If the Supremacy be invaded, the Lapſes of the former Magiſtrate muſt be inculcated with the greateſt advantage, and what is wanting in Reality, muſt be ſupplyed in Calumny.

IT cannot eaſily be imagined of what ſingular importance the aſperſing and blotting of a Prince is, to boyl up popular diſcontent to that height, which is requiſite for a rebellion; and here it muſt diligently be enquired, if there have not been indeed ſuch lapſes, as have galled the people; and though they be old ſores and skin'd, yet they muſt be ſearched and refreſhed, and exaſperated with all the urging circumſtances that come within the invention of ſcandal; It muſt be remembred,

if

if any persons of publick note have suffered under the Sword of Justice, whose crimes can by Art or Eloquence be extenuated, whose hard measure must be mentioned with tears, that so old Traytors may be propounded for new *Martyrs*. This hath been the ordinary Method of Ambition, as you may find it noted by a great Scholar, in these words, --- *Fuit hæc omnibus sæculis, & ad huc est ad occupandam tyrannidem expeditissima via, dum summo se amore, ac pietate in patriam esse simulant, principum vitia, & populi miseriam, apud suos primùm, deinde palam querebunda voce lamentantur, non quo plebem, cujus solius commodis inservire videri volunt, ab illo servitutis jugo asserant in libertatem; sed quo populari aura subnixi, aditum sibi & januam ad eam ipsam dignitatem, nequiora aliquando ausuri patefaciant.* It was ever the most

Barcklay contra Monarc. 30.

moſt compendious way of uſurpation, to diſſemble a ſtrong affection to our Country; lamenting the vices of the Prince, and miſeries of the people; not with an intent to reſcue them from ſervitude, but to get ſuch a portion of favour, as may lift us up to the ſame pitch of honour on their ſhoulders; which having obtained, we tranſcendently abuſe, changing the Rod of Royalty into the Scorpions of Anarchy, Ariſtocracy, or a free State.

'Tis the faſhion of fortunate Rebels, to feed the people with ſhells, and empty names, as if their bare aſſertion could demonſtrate to us (againſt all experience) that 'tis freedome to be ſlaves to *Quondam* Peaſants, and ſlavery to be ſubjects to a true and natural Prince. And therefore if the Prince be ſevere, he gives them *Neros* brand, a man kneaded

kneaded up of dirt and bloud; if he be of parts and contrivance, he calls it pernicious ingenuity: If he be mild and favourable to tender Conſciences, he declaims againſt his toleration. If he urge uniformity and decency in divine ſervice, he rails at his Superſtition. And becauſe there is no ſuch æquilibrious vertue, but has ſome flexure to one of the extremes, he is very carefull to publiſh the Extreme alone, and to ſilence the Vertue.

But if the Prince hath by carriage of extraordinary innocence, vindicated himſelf from obloquy (which ſhall ſcarce be, if ſmall faults be rightly improved) then *Machiavels* advice muſt be followed, to calumniate ſtoutly, till the people have entertained ſomething to his prejudice: 'Tis a figure in Politicks to make every infirmity a fault, and every fault

a crime: and if the People be diſpoſed to alteration, theſe muſt be firſt urged againſt a Monarch to depoſe him, or if need be, to murther him; which is commendable, if you can dreſs him up like a Tyrant, as you may find it juſtified by an honeſt *Scot*, who complains, that there are not ſome glorious rewards appointed for Tyrannicides; and by the beſt of Orators; *Græcos, Deorum honores tribuiſſe iis, qui Tyrannos necaverunt, The Grecians gave divine honors to thoſe that kill'd Tyrants.* And by the Tragedian,

Buchanan.

Pro Milone.

Victima haud ulla amplior poteſt,
Magiſve opima mactari Jovi,
Quam Rex iniquus.
More gratefull victime none to Jove *can bring,*
Than is the bloud of ſlaughter'd unjuſt King.

Hercules furens.

And

And ſecondly, theſe perſonal faults muſt be artificially devolved upon *Monarchy* it ſelf.

There remains to diſperſe the commendation of that Government, which is intended for Succeſſor; if *Ariſtocracy*, the long-liv'd proſperity of *Sparta* and *Venice*, is a very plauſible evidence of it's goodneſs: If *Democracy*, the happineſs of the *Romans* under their Tribunes, is very memorable; to which may be added this out of *Machiavel*, that they are the moſt ſuitable guardians of any thing, who are leaſt deſirous to uſurp it: and without doubt, conſidering the Deſignes of the Nobility, and the People, we muſt confeſs, that the firſt are very ambitious of rule, the laſt deſire only not to be oppreſt.

Upus. Levi. p. 22.

Cola-

Colasterion.

I Presume that person is very rare, that can boast of such an absolute *Saintship*, whilst he is amongst mortals, but that there will now and then some actions fall from him, which confess Humanity, and require Candor, some leaves in the volume of the fairest life, are *legenda cum venia*: If this be a common frailty, why do we fix such rigid censures upon the miscarriages of Princes? or why do we deny them the same mildness which we use, when we commiserate the infirmities of other men? 'tis yet much more dis-ingenuous to revive and pore upon a few bad actions, which, it may be, have been long ago expiated with many good: Take this from no mean Statist,

-- *Imi-*

--- *Iniqua in omni re accuſando, prætermiſſis bonis, malorum enumeratio, vitiorumque ſelectio; nam ne ullus quidem iſto modo magiſtratus vituperabilis non erit,* 'Tis an unjuſt way of accuſing to omit the good Offices of a Prince, and to ſelect and publiſh only his bad; for by this means, no Magiſtrate ſhall be innocent.

As greatneſs gives a Gloſs to the Vertues of a Prince, ſo it mitigates his Vices; for if we look upon him as circled with honour, and all outward enjoyments, we ſee withall, what variety of temptations he hath to ſtruggle with above others, having no other Guard, no other Weapon than his meer Vertue; ſometimes we are defended from a ſin, by our very impotency; it may be above our ſphere, or out of our reach; we do not, becauſe we cannot; how often are our

our wills offenders, when our hands are innocent? we are checked from without, he commonly from within, having nothing to diſpute with his immoderate deſires, but himſelf. This is that which inhanſes the goodneſs of a Prince, as that excellent Poet leads his temperate Knight through all the delicacies and charms of pleaſure, and delivers him a Conqueror. *Spencer.*

But ſuppoſe a Magiſtrate really tyrannical; it is no contemptible queſtion, Whether the evils of the redreſs may not be equivalent to the miſchief? I remember *Livy*'s, *Nec morbum ferre poſſumus, nec remedium: We can neither abide the diſeaſe, nor the remedy:* and *Plutarch*'s, χεῖρον εἶναι μοναρχίας παρανόμως πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον, A civil warr is worſe than an irregular Monarchy: and *Tacitus*, *Ferenda regum ingenia, neque uſus*

eſſe crebras mutationes: vitia erunt donec homines, ſed neque hæc continua, & meliorum interventu penſantur; *The humours of Kings are to be tolerated, nor is it uſeful to change them: whilſt there are men, there will be vices. The miſcarriages of a Prince may be great, but the vertues of his Succeſſor may be greater*: and *Seneca*, *Infæliciter ægrotat, cui plus periculi à medico quam à morbo*, He is unfortunately ſick, that is more in danger of his Phyſician, than of his Diſeaſe. Poiſe the miſeries of a Civil warr, with the grievances of an unjuſt Magiſtrate, & the Politician muſt take many grains of allowance from fallacy to make the ſcales even. For though the fury of incenſed Tyranny may fall heavy upon many particulars, yet the bloudy conſequences of an Inteſtine Sword, are more epidemical and more permanent.

As

As to the charging the faults of a Governor upon the Government it ſelf, I ſee nothing in it but deluſion, nor can there be a more groſs abuſe, than τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πονηρίαν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα μεταφέρειν, *To make the Office guilty of the Officer's abuſe.* *Iſocrates*

For King-killing, becauſe I know it a techy ſubject, I ſhall wholly omit all diſcourſe of it; only I find it damn'd by an able Engliſh Divine, as Jeſuitical; and *Tacitus* commends to ſubjects rather *ſcutum* than *gladium*, the ſhield of patience and toleration, rather than the Sword. *Jo. Goodwin* in his *Anticavalriſ.*

Principle IV.

The Politician must nouriſh ſome mercenary Jeſuits, or other Divines, to cry up his aims in their Churches, that ſo the poyſon may inſinuate more generally into all the parts.

HE that peruſes Hiſtory, will find, that there has been no Innovation ſo groſs, no Rebellion ſo hideous, but hath ſome Eccleſiaſtical Fomentors; for ſuch as want worth enough of their own to reach preferment in a regular way, are moſt apt to envy the juſt honours of better men; and deſpairing to obtain their end by learning and piety, they aſpire to it by the crooked means of Faction and Schiſm. Nor are thoſe deſpicable Inſtruments to the Politician

litician; for the ſharpeſt Sword in his Army cannot vie ſervices with a ſubtile quil: You may ſee his buſineſs in the Comick, γράφων, βουλεύσων, καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ πολεμήσων, *Ariſtophanes.* Writing, diſputing, that ſo his tongue is a ſhield to his Patrons opinion, and a Sword to his Adverſaries.

The Jeſuite reckons it in the number of his merits, if he may by any ſiniſter wayes ruffle and diſorder Heretical Kingdomes (ſo he calls them) encourage weak and unſtable minds to ſlight Magiſtracy, irritate diviſions, tumults; rebellions, abſolve from oaths, and all ſacred ties; ſo that it is hard to find any tragical Scene, or bloudy Theatre, into which the Jeſuite hath not intruded, and been as buſie, as *Davus* in the Comedy, contributing in a very high meaſure to every Fanatick Inſolence, juſtifying the old

Lemma of *Loyola's* Picture, *Cavete vobis Principes* : These are the firebrands of *Europe*, the Forge and Bellows of Sedition, Infernal Emissaries, the Pests of the age, men that live as if huge sins would merit Heaven by an Antiperistasis.

Classica canere.

2. Nor is any Nation without some turbulent Spirits of its own, the dishonour of the Gown and Pulpit, the shame, and sometimes the ruine of their Country; you would think they had their Text from a Gazet, because you hear so much of a Curranto in the Application: That these may be fit implements for the Politician, there are these requisite qualifications.

1. There must be a Principal gift of wresting the Scripture, vexing and urging the holy Text, constraining it to patronize the design; the great Apostle expres-

ses

ſes this in three very emphatical terms. 1. Cogging the Dye, making the Word ſpeak what they liſt. 2. Cratty Applications, and Expoſitions of it. 3. All the Methods and Arts of couſenage, ὡραΐζονται καὶ χρυσοῦζονται λόγῳ, gilding and varniſhing rotten Doctrines, and this muſt be done

Κυβεία, Πανσυγεία. Μεθοδεία πλάνης.

1. In publick, vomiting out flames and Sulphur from that Sacred Pegma, where he ſhould deliver none but mild and ſoft, that is, Evangelical Embaſſages.

2. In private, at Parlour Sermons, and Meeting houſes, where he is liſtned to as to an Oracle; and here commonly he is more Enthuſiaſt, than Scripturiſt, and his Audience believe his dreams to be as Canonical as the Revelation; like thoſe *Melanthon* ſpeaks of, *Quicquid ſomniant, volunt eſſe Spiritum Sanctum, Their Dreams are all new lights*, or thoſe that the Fa-

εὐαγγελιοφθόροι *Evangeliopthori.*

Father chides, when he tells them that every whimsey is not Prophesie, Οὐ πᾶν ἐννύχιον εὐθυς προφητεία.

3. He ought to be of some abilities in disputing; and what he wants in Logick, he must supply in Garrulity: for whatsoever he affirms, the interest he hath in his seduc'd hearers, improves into a Syllogism. You ask after his Topicks, *Ex officina carnificum argumenta petit*, He has his Arguments from *Gregory*, but not the Saint. If, after his weapons, *Armat se ad latrocinium per Christi nomen*; He carries the name of Christ in the Van of Rebellion and Robbery; and the wound he makes is faction; those Consciences which will not surrender to his parley, his Master takes by storm: and thus he abuses Christ, by pretending his favour to unwarrantable actions: he abuses his Prince

Popul. Ταχυπειθία.

S. Hierom.

Strada.

Prince, by alienating the affection and allegiance of his Subjects; he abuſes the Church, by ſhattering it into Rents and Schiſms, wounding it with a Feather from its own wing, ſnatching a Coal from the Altar; to fire both Church and State; And laſtly, he abuſes himſelf; for when the Politician hath made his beſt uſe of his ſeditious Spirit, he leaves him to his own wild diſtempers, having directed his own thoughts to another Goal.

Eccleſiæ nomine armamini, & contra Eccleſiam dimicatis. Aug.

Cola-

Colaſterion.

ALthough we have caution enough againſt theſe in ſad and frequent experiences, theſe latter Ages groaning under the Effects of an Exorbitant Clergy; yet ſuch is the eaſineſs and credulity of the Vulgar; ſuch the ſubtilety and diſſembled ſanctity of the Impoſtor, that he meets with as a great proneneſs in the people to be couſen'd, as he brings willingneſs to delude; for it is a true obſervation, that theſe Clancular Sermocinators bear as great ſway in popular minds, and make as deep impreſſion upon their Conſciences, as the *Loyoliſts* do, when they impoſe upon their blind Laity.

I dare only ſubjoyn theſe few advices.

First,

First, I ſhould ſuſpect a Clerical Statiſt, I mean ſuch a one as in the diſpenſation of ſacred Oracles, tampers with ſecular affairs; unleſs it be of high concernment to his Auditors ſouls.

Secondly, I ſhould believe him a Jugler, that ſprinkles his Sermon with murmurs againſt the lawfull Magiſtrate, Eccleſiaſtical or Civil; unleſs he hath ſome better ground for his diſlike, than a thwarting his humour in things Controverſal and Adiaphorous.

Thirdly, I ſhould more than doubt his knavery, that ſhould ſubborn Scripture, to atteſt, or incite to illegal Actions, as of kin to that, which *Salvian* calls *Religioſum ſcelus*, Religious wickedneſs.

Fourthly, All news in Religion, whether in Doctrine or Diſcipline, is the common skreen of private deſign. Let *Mæcenas* tell it Καινοφανία.

Apud Dion. Cass. it, τοὺς δὲ ξενίζοντας τι περὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ μίσει καὶ νόλαξε, πολλοὺς γὰρ ἀναπείθουσιν ἀλλοτριονομεῖν. *All innovators in Religion, let them be severely punished, for they are fomenters of sedition.* Which is noted by the great *Casaubon* in his Epistle before his Baronian exercitations, thus; *Cupiditas novandi, hæc secum mala semper trahit, Christi inconsutilem tunicam laterat, sectas novas parit, & statim multiplicat, Ecclesiam & populum concutit*, &c. *Novelties in the Church are never without these sad consequences; They rend the seamless Coat of our blessed Saviour; they breed Schisms, and then brood and multiply them; they shake the fundamentals of Church and State*, &c.

'Tis sad to see *Urania*, divine *Urania*, inroll'd in blood; the Stars and Luminaries of the Church, to shed such black and malignant influences; in lieu of pi-

pious documents to hear none but furious incentives ; *Ite alacres, tantæque, precor, confidite Cauſæ ;*

No matter for the Church, or Laws, You may confide in ſuch a Cauſe.

The cauſe they ſerve is the Doctrine and the Uſe, the Egg, the Apple, the head and foot of all their diſcourſes ; if you like to confer notes, you may find a piece of their Sermon in *Barclay* to this effect, *Se Evangelii libertatem prædicare, nullam Chriſtianis animis vim inferre, ſuam cuiq; conſcientiam liberam relinquere, Verbo ducere non vi quemquam adigere eam eſſe Evangelii doctrinam, ut omnes conſcientiæ fruantur libertate : ſibiq; ut id liceat, votis omnibus poſtulare ;* They extol Evangelical liberty, that no Chriſtian minds ſhould be yok'd with Chriſts Government, that all ſhould enjoy free Conſciences ; *Papirius Con. Monarc. p. 32.*

that

that the Goſpel is ſoft and mild, nor does it ſeek to reduce any by violence: they beg the ſame enlargement and ſcope for themſelves, which they allow to others.

Prin-

Principle V.

If ſucceſs waits upon his Enterpriſes, he urges it to authenticate his Cauſe.

THere is no Argument more popular than ſucceſs, becauſe the bulk of men is not able to diſtinguiſh the permiſſion of God from his approbation: And although it be in it ſelf fallacious and feeble, yet the miſery of the conquered, denies them the opportunity to diſpute it; for the oppoſition of the ſword will never be confuted by the bare fiſt of Logick. Nor doth the Victor commonly permit any ventilation of his dictates; for when the body is a ſlave, why ſhould the reaſon be free? Δοῦλος πέφυκας, ὑμέτεσί σοι λόγος, as the Souldi- *In Pompeio.*

diers

diers in *Plutarch* wondred any would be ſo importunate to preach Laws and Moral reaſons to men with Swords by their ſides; Οὐ παύσεσθε ὑμῖν ὑποζωσμένοις ξίφη, νόμους ἀναγινώσκοντες. As if Arms knew not how to deſcend to rational inquiries, but were enough juſtified by an odd kind of neceſſity of their own creating; like thoſe in *Livy*, *in armis jus ferre, & omnia fortium virorum eſſe*, That all Laws are engraved on the hilt of a victorious Sword, to whoſe *Mandamus* all other Statutes muſt ſubmit.

I have often conſidered with my ſelf, what ſhould move Tyrants to print juſtifications of themſelves, and aſſertions of their proceedings, which I ſuppoſe never made an underſtanding man a convert, nor met with a cordial reception in any, unleſs the abuſe of a few poor ſhalow believers, be thought

a Triumph worth their pains. I have ſometimes thought, they do by theſe papers pleaſe themſelves in their abilities to delude, and ſo gratifie their tyranny over the nobleſt part of man, by denying the liberty of the thought, and ſubduing the powers of the ſoul to an implicit coherence with their own Magiſterial opinions.

But our Politician, by quoting the ſucceſs of his undertakings, beſides the plauſibleneſs and inſinuating nature of the Propoſition it ſelf, hath the advantage of power to make us believe him.

Nor is this bait contemptible; many of Parts and Prudence, yea, and of Religion, have been ſtagger'd by it. Some queſtion whether *Dionyſius* deſerv'd the brand of Atheiſm, conſidering the wild conceits they then had of their Gods; or differed from the Common Creed, crying out, O how

the Gods favour Sacrilege! when he had a merry gale after a ſacrilegious attempt. The beſt of the Roman Hiſtorians calls the Victory the juſt Arbitreſs of the Cauſe, *Eventus belli, velut æquus Judex, unde jus ſtat, ei victoriam dabit; The event of the warr, like an impartial Judge, ſhall knit victory and right together*; So hard it is to perſwade meer Reaſon, that Vertue may be unfortunate, and Vice happy.

He was no ſmall Poet, that argued himſelf out of his Gods, by ſeeing wickedneſs honoured, and worth ſlighted: which he expreſſes thus,

Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo,
Pompeius nullo; quis putet eſſe Deos?

In English.

Licinus *does in Marble ſleep,*
A common Urn does Cato *keep,*
Pompey's *Aſhes may catch cold;*
That there are Gods, let Dotards hold.

There may be ſome uſe made of that in *Seneca*, *Honeſta quædam ſcelera ſucceſſus facit*, Proſperous miſchiefs are Cardinal vertues in the Worlds Ethicks; and therefore the Tragedian repeats it, *Proſperum ac Fælix ſcelus virtus vocatur.* The unwarrantableneſs is hid and concealed in the glory of the ſucceſs; we often praiſe the Macedonian Conqueſt, but ſeldome mention their boundleſs and unjuſt ambition. *Herc. Fur.*

On the contrary, if an undertaking really good miſcarry, we cenſure it: ſo that according to the vogue of the World, 'tis the event that

gives the colour to the action, and denominates it good or bad, τὸ κρατῆσον τιμῶμεν, τὸ ἀπολωλὸς κατατρέχομεν, *We adore the Fortunate, and despise the Conquer'd.*

Cola-

Colaſterion.

THere is ſome of this Leaven in the judgements of moſt, notwithſtanding thoſe brighter diſcoveries, in the Noon of Chriſtianity we live under. A Bible throughly obſerv'd, would expound to us much of the Riddle, and dark paſſages of providence; we are ſo ſhort-ſighted, that we cannot ſee beyond time; we value things, and men, by their temporal proſperities, and tranſient glories; whereas if we put Eternity into the other ſcale, it would much out-poyſe that wordly luſtre that ſo much abuſes our eye, and couſens our underſtandings.

I find not in holy writ, that God hath inſeparably annex'd Goodneſs and Greatneſs, Juſtice

and Victory: He hath secured his Servants of the felicities of a better life, but not of this. Christs Kingdom was not, our Happiness is not of this world.

Nor doth my Bible shew me any warrant for appeal to Heaven for the decision of this, or that intricacy, by bestowing success upon this Party, or that Cause, according to its righteousness and due merit. There is a vast difference betwixt ἀτύχημα and ἀδίκημα, even in the Scripture construction.

The Great Turk may justly exsult and prune himself in discourses of this nature, if they be once admitted, and own'd by Christians: And I shall forbear any longer, to think *Mahomet* any an Impostor, and must receive the *Alcoran* for Gospel, if I shall be convinced, that temporal happiness and Triumph, are a true Index

of

of divine Favour. Our Religion hath ſomething more to invite our cloſure with it; it propoſes a conveniency on Earth, but the Crowns and Garlands are reſerv'd for Heaven.

The Money-God, in *Ariſtophanes*, pretends a command from *Jupiter*, to diſtribute as great a Largeſs to the Wicked, as to the Good; becauſe if Vertue ſhould once impropriate Riches, that fair Goddeſs would be more wooed for her Dowry, than for her native Beauty. So if Religion were attended with thoſe outward allurements that moſt take the ſenſes, we ſhould be apt to follow Chriſt for the loaves, and overlook the ſpiritual charms, and more noble ends of Chriſtianity. In Πλούτῳ

The Heathen could ſay, *Fælix prædo, mundo exemplum inutile*, Happy Piracy is a thing of unhappy preſidency; fortunate ſins may

prove dangerous temptations; But to say, that God doth signally attest the actions of such a person, or the justice of such a cause, by permitting it to prosper, and taper up in the World; is such a deceit, as deserves our serious abhorrency -- I leave it with *Ovid*'s wish,

--- Careat successibus opto,
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.

Let him for ever in success be poor,
That thinks it justifies his cause the more.

Prin-

Principle VI.

The Politician must change with the Times.

THat Alterations and Revolutions in Kingdomes, are the Rods with which God ſcourges miſcarrying Princes, is reſolved by my Lord of *Argenton*: to which may be added out of *Ariſtotle*, in the fifth of his Politicks --- *per fraudem & dolum regna everteruntur*, That the ruines of a Kingdom are often derived from fraud and ſubtilities: I ſhall omit inquiry into other cauſes, as forein to my preſent purpoſe.

The Politician knows beſt how to improve theſe popular Guſts, becauſe he cauſed them: ſuch a ſtorm is his Seed-time. 'Tis the boaſt

boaſt of a *Dutchman*, that he can ſail with all winds; the aſpiring man obſerves the quarter whence the fairſt gales of preferment blow, and ſpreads the ſails of his Ambition to entertain them; nor can the Compaſs breath more varieties, than his dexterous ſoul has changes and garbs, and ſuitable compliances.

What the Orator calls his top and perfection, to make happy application to the ſeveral humours and genius of all ſorts of men, qualifying his addreſs with what he knows, will moſt charm the perſon he treats: that the Politician does not only with his lip, but life, you may find all thoſe Figures and Tropes digeſted into his actions, & made practical that are in the other only vocal.

He remembers that of an Engliſh Marquefs (*Paulet* of *Winchester*) who having ſucceſſfully ſerved four

Nanton's *Regalia.*

four Princes, and ſtill in the ſame room of favour, unſhaken with the viciſſitudes he had run through; being ask'd by one, by what means he preſerved his fortune? he replies, that he was made, *ex ſalice, non ex quercu*, of the pliant Willow, not ſtubborn Oak, alwayes of the prevailing Religion, and a zealous Profeſſor. This eaſineſs and bending is of abſolute neceſſity; for, if the ſame temper, which inſinuated in violent times, were retain'd in a compoſed and ſetled Government, it would be altogether diſtaſtfull; and ſo on the contrary.

Therefore if Religion be faſhionable, you can ſcarcely diſtinguiſh him from a Saint, He does not only reverence the holy Miniſters, but if need be, he can preach himſelf: If Cunctation prevails, he acts *Fabius*: If the Buckler muſt be changed for a Sword, he perſo-

perſonates *Marcellus*: If mildneſs be uſefull, *Soderini* of *Venice* was not more a Lamb than he: If ſeverities are requiſite, *Nero's* Butcheries are Sanctities, compared with his: As *Alcibiades*, in *Plutarch*, ſhifted diſpoſition as he altred place (being voluptuous and jovial in *Ionia*, frugal and retir'd in *Lacedæmon*) ſo he proportions himſelf to time, place, perſon, Religion, with ſuch a plauſiblenes, as if he had been born only to ſerve that opinion, which he harboured but as a gueſt, whileſt it continued in ſway: having a room in his heart, if occaſion be, to lodge the contrary, and to cry it up with as much ardour, as he once uſed to extoll the former. And thus like a ſubtile *Proteus*, he aſſumes that ſhape that is moſt in grace, and of moſt profitable conducement to his ends, *In eo ſtant conſilia, quod ſibi conducere pu-*

putat, All his conſultations turn upon the hinge of ſelf-intereſt.

He abounds in that which *Varro* calls, *verſatile ingenium*, a voluble wit, like the changeling derided by *Plautus*, as more turning than a Potters wheel.

Rota ſingulari verſatilior.

He hath his advantage of the *Camelion*, that he can aſſume whiteneſs; for I find him often wearing the veſt of Innocency, to conceal the Uglineſs, and blackneſs of his Attempts.

Finally, he is the Heliotrope to the Sun of Honour, and hath long ſince abjured his God, Religion, Conſcience, and all that ſhall enterpoſe, and skreen him from thoſe beams, that may ripen his wiſhes, and aims into enjoyments.

Cola-

Colasterion.

But the true Statesman is inviolably constant to his principles of Vertue and Religious prudence; and his ends are noble, & the means he uses innocent: he hath a single eye on the publick good; and if the Ship of the State miscarry, he had rather perish in the wreck, than preserve himself upon the plank of an inglorious subterfuge. His worth hath led him to the Helm, the Rudder he uses, is an honest and vigorous wisdom, the Star he looks to for direction is in Heaven, and the Port he aims at, is the joynt welfare of Prince and People.

This Constancy is that solid Rock upon which the wise *Venetian* hath built it's long-liv'd Republick: So that it is not improbable the Maiden Queen borrow'd her Motto of *Semper Eadem*, from this

this Maiden Common wealth.

'Tis true, ſomething is to be conceded to the place, and time, and perſon; and I grant that there are many innocent compliances. *Virgil's obliquare ſinus*, is obſervable, there may be a bending without a crookedneſs: We may *circumire*, and yet not *aberrare*; *Paul* became a Jew, that he might gain the Jews, but he did not become a ſinner, that he might gain ſinners; He was made all things to all men, but he was not made ſin to any: that is, his condeſcenſions were ſuch, as did well conſiſt with his Chriſtian integrity.

Greatneſs and Honours, and Riches, and Scepters, thoſe glorious temptations, that ſo much inamour the doting World, are too poor ſhrines for ſuch a ſacrifice as Conſcience, which the Politician hath ſo much abuſed by an inveterate neglect, that it is become Menſtruous, Ephemeral. *Prin-*

Principle VII.

If the Polytician find reaſon to impoſe Oaths, Let them be of ſuch ambiguity, as may furniſh with a ſenſe obliging to the deſign, and yet ſo ſoft as the people may not feel the ſnare.

IT appears by ſad experience, that in propounding of Oaths, requiring promiſes, and other ſolemnities, there have been multitudes induced to bind themſelves upon ſome ſecret, looſe, and mental reſervation; which they have fram'd to themſelves as a

ſalvo

ſalvo in caſe of breach: ſo apt we are in affairs of greateſt importance, to adviſe more with corrupt Wit, than ſound Conſcience.

In the Catalogue of ſelf-deluſions, you may poſſibly find theſe;

1. We are ready to interpret the words too kindly, eſpecially if they be ambiguous; and it is hard to find terms ſo poſitive, but that they may be eluded indeed, or ſeem to us to be ſo, if we be diſpoſed.

2. Some are invited to illicit promiſes *quà* illicit, becauſe they know them to be more invalid.

3. Some are frighted into theſe bonds by threats and loſſes, and temporal concernments, and then they pleaſe themſelves that they ſwear by Dureſs, and ſo are diſ-ingaged.

4. Some are Oath-proof; I mean there are ſuch ſear-ſcul'd

men, as will ſwear *Pro* and *Con.*

5. Some have learned from the *Civilians*, that though we ſwear to a thing not materially unlawfull, yet if it impedes a greater moral good, it becomes void.

Grot. *de jur. belli*, 245.

6. Some take liberty to ſwear, becauſe they judge the perſon to whom they ſwear incapable of an Oath: as *Cicero* defends the breach of oath to a thief, from perjury; and *Brutus*, to a Tyrant: as it is in *Appian*, οὐδὲν πιστὸν ἐστι Ρωμάοις πρὸς τυράννους, οὐδ' ἔνορκον, *The Romans eſteem it an honeſt perjury, to violate their faith with Tyrants.*

The firſt ſort of theſe falls moſt properly under the notice and practice of our Politician: though he may alſo uſe the laſt, but at different times.

It is not difficult for him to caſt his deſire into ſuch ſoft glib expreſſion, as will down with moſt:

Yea,

Yea, with many that would abſolutely diſavow the ſame thing in rough Language. If he be unskill'd in this black Art, I commend him to the Pædagogy of the *Delphick* Devil.

Now is it moſt certain, there is no other tye of ſuch ſecurity, and eſtabliſhment, to a perſon that hath raviſhed greatneſs, and acquired it by violence. Uſurpation hath only theſe two Pillars, its own Arms and Militia, and publick Oath and acknowledgement; and it is ſcarce worth Query, whether, when the Groſs of a Nation is thus bound, the Oath be not as valid, and the Conſcience as much concerned, as if it had been ſworn to a lawful Prince. It is reaſonable, that an uſurping power cannot upon any prudent perſwaſion, have the ſame confidence in the love of the people that a Juſt hath: Nor is

the following Government inticing, as *Tacitus* notes, *Nec quisquam imperium malis artibus quæsitum bene administravit, Never any Kingdom, badly acquired, was well administred.* The same with *Cuazzo*, where one objecting the vices of Princes, receives this answer, *Perchè non erano Prencipi per natura, ma per violenza, & erano più temuti che amati: Therefore they were not natural Princes, but violent Usurpers, and so more beholding to the fear, than love of their Subjects.* And therefore if the Politician can by the blessed means forementioned gain a superiority, there is no trusting to those ingenious Guards, his own Goodness, and the Love of others: His best defence is aw, and fear, and Scaffold, and Gibbit, and the like. For he that hath no voluntary room in the hearts of his people, must use all means to gain a coercive.

De civil. conversʃ. l. 2. p. 132

For

For his own promiſes, he puts them into the ſame botttomleſs bagg, which the Poets ſay, *Jupiter* made for Lovers aſſeverations: His word is as good as his Oath; for they are both trifles, as it is in *Plautus*.

--- *Pactum non pactum eſt, non pactum pactum eſt, cum illis lubet.* *Anular.*

A bargain ſhall no bargain be,
If I can no advantage ſee;
A bargain ſhall a bargain be,
If it with my deſignes agree.

'Twas he that firſt invented that uſefull diſtinction of a Lip-oath, and a Heart-oath; you may find him in *Euripides*.

Jurata lingua eſt, mente juravi nihil.

I with my Tongue can swear,
And with my Heart forbear.

He makes good use of that in *Plutarch*, Τοὺς μὲν παῖδας ἀστραγάλοις δεῖν ἐξαπατᾶν, τοὺς δ' Ἀνδρας ὅρκοις, that Children are to be couzened with rattles, and men with oaths. *Apoph.*

Tis an huge Advantage, that man hath in a credulous World, that can easily say and swear to any thing; and yet withall, so palliate his Falsifications and Perjuries, as to hide them from the Connusance of most; the Politician must be furnished with handsome Refuges, that may seemingly heal miscarriages this way. He need not spend much time in inquiry after such helps; these declining Ages will abundantly furnish his invention.

Colasterion.

AN Oath is in it self a Religious affirmation, a promise with Gods seal; and therefore it concerns Christians to be cautelous before swearing, to swear Liquidly, and to observe Conscionably. 'Tis pitty such slender Evasions should satisfie us, as have been scorn'd by Heathens. We are bound (sayes one of them) to the sense of the imposer, or else we do ψευδορκεῖν; we are bound to the performance of what we have thus sworn, or else we do ἐπιορκεῖν: 'Tis much, that a moral Conscience should more check them, than a clearer light can awe us: as if they more honour'd the Genius of a *Cæsar*, than we reverence the presence of a God: or else we should never

ingage in new proteſtations that do infer, yea, and ſometimes poſitively quarrel with old. They had their Θεοὶ ἐπιόρκιοι, their perjury revenging Gods, to whoſe vindictive power they referred their offenders: they puniſh'd ſuch as ſwore falſly by their Prince with fuſtigation; But ſuch as abuſed their Gods, were left to the diſpoſe of their injured Deities, as if they were at a loſs, how to find a puniſhment equal to the ſin. Hear how ſoberly *Plato* mentions it (out of the noble Commentator upon *Philoſtratus*) *En toutes manieres ſa eſte un fort belle ordinance & inſtitutition, de n' uſer point du nom des Dieux Legerement, de peur de les contaminer; car la Majeſte des Dieux ne ſe doit imployer, qu' en un ſaincte & venerable purete, It is wiſely ordain'd, that the names of the Gods ſhould not be uſed upon trifling occaſions, for fear*

of

of polluting them; for the Majesty of the Gods should not be imployed, but in holy and venerable purity. See what real honour they gave to their counterfeit Gods: Let us have a care, that we ascribe not counterfeit honour to the true God.

Our God hates every false Oath: It appears in his severity to *Zedekiah*, for breaking Covenant with the *Babylonian* Monarch, though a Tyrant of the first magnitude. *Casaubon exercitat* 202.

Were all Subjects duly solicitous about the weight of this bound, we should be less prone to take, and more studious to observe it; I remember the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*, derives ὅρκος, παρὰ τὸ εἴργω, τὸ Συγκλείω, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ἕρκος, ὅτι εἴργει τὸν ὀμνύμενον. It hedges in, and shuts up a man, and ties his hands behind him; I know not how some Conquerors may

may cut this knot with the Sword, or how ſome *Sampſons* may ſhake off theſe cords; or what gaps the Licentious may make in this hedge; But ſuch as value God, or Heaven, or Prince, or Peace, can diſcover it no way better than in a ſincere uſe of ſo Divine an Ordinance.

There can be no certain rule given, when to believe, and when not, what ſuch as are, or would be great, pleaſe to inculcate to us: I find more wracks upon the Rock of credulity: and 'tis no hereſie to affirm, that many have been ſaved by their infidelity; I commend that of *Epicharmus.*

Νᾶφε, ἢ μέμνασο ἀπιστεῖν.

Prin-

Principle VIII.

Neceſſity of State, is a very competent Apology for the worſt of actions.

IT has been obſerved, that in all innovations and Rebellions (which ordinarily have their riſe from pretences of Religion, or Reformation, or both) the breach and neglect of Laws hath been authorized by that great Patroneſs of illegal actions --- Neceſſity. ἀνάγκη, *Sæva neceſſitas.*

Now the Politician is never without

without such an Advocate as this; For he cares not to distinguish, whether the necessity be of his own creating, or no, as for the most part it is, being indeed an Appendix to the wrong he undertakes, and signifies no more, than that he is compell'd to cover wrong with wrong, as if the Commission of a second sin were enough to justifie the first.

He changes that old charitable advice --- *Benefacta benefactis aliis pertegito ne perpulant*; into *vitia vitiis aliis pertegito ne perpluant*: that so heaping one crime upon another, the latter may defend the former, from the stroke of Justice.

He adores that Maxim in *Livy*, *Justum est bellum quibus necessarium, & pia arma quibus in armis spes est, That war must needs be just that is necessary, and those arms pious that are all our only livelyhood:*

It

It were very incongruous to desire that man to leave his crutch, that cannot walk without: 'tis no less unnatural to invite him to quit his Sword, whose life and fortune leans intirely upon it.

If he can insinuate the scope of the War to be Legal, a little daubing will serve to Legalize the circumstances: that of the Civilians must be remembred -- *Licere in bello quæ ad finem sunt necessaria, Nothing is unlawfull in war, that serves the end & design of it*: the Oracles of the Gown are too tender for Sword-men; and it may be, he had wit in his anger, who affirm'd, that Martial Law was as great a Sölœcism, as Martial Peace. *Victor. de jure belli, n. 18. 39.*

If the people be once possest that his aim and intention is fair, they will never expect that the *Media* for attainment of his end should

ſhould be retrenched by the ſtrict Boundaries of Law: He manages that rule very practically, *Rem alienam, ex qua certum mihi periculum eminet, citra culpæ alienæ conſiderationem invadere poſſum, I may invade any thing of any mans that threatens certain danger to me, if I ſuffer him to enjoy it.* Now he can very plauſibly make this *periculum, certum,* or *incertum,* as ſhall beſt ſuit with his affairs.

G. de jure Belli, p. 424.

Mach. on Livy 627.

Tis a broad liberty that *Grotius* concedes, *Quare ſi vitam aliter ſervare non poſſum, licet mihi vi qualicunq; arcere eum qui eam impetit, licet peccato vacet; & hoc ex jure, quod mihi pro me natura concedit. If I have no other way to aſſure my life, I may by any means, repell any power that aſſaults it, though juſt: Self-defence being a clear dictate of Nature.* When Life, and Liberty, and

and Safety come in queſtion, there ought no conſideration to be had of juſt or unjuſt, pittifull or cruel, honourable or diſhonourable.

Now when the People have according to his deſire, got over the great obſtacle, and diſgeſted the plot for pious; it is eaſie to ſet all future proceedings upon the ſcore of Liberty, Safety, Religion; and if he be conſtrained to uſe means groſly unlawfull, 'tis but to make them ſeem Holy in the application, and all's well. For it is the humour and genius of the Vulgar; when they have once ruſhed into a party implicitly, to proſecute it as deſperately, as if they were under demonſtrative Convictions of it's Juſtice.

Finally, He muſt make a vertue of neceſſity, becauſe there is no other vertue will ſo eaſily

ly be induced to ſerve his proceedings as this; ſhe may well ſmile upon Licentiouſneſs, who hath her ſelf no Law.

Cola-

Colaſterion.

LEt that great Rule be received, that no man can be neceſſiated to ſin: Our Divines generally damn an officious lye, and the equity binds from an officious ſin.

It would ſoon cut the nerves of the 8th Commandment, if Neceſſities and Urgencies, though real, were pronounced a ſufficient excuſe for Stealing. But that which our Politician calls Neceſſity, is no more than neceſſity of convenience, nor ſo much, except we interpret that convenience, which may favour his own ends, and ſo is convenient for his deſign. He uſes Neceſſity as the old Philoſophers did an occult quality, though to a different purpoſe; that was their refuge for Igno-

rance, this is his Sanctuary for Sin.

Less. l. 11. *c.* 12 *dub.* 12. *nu.* 17.

Those Civilians that are most charitable to necessity, make it no plea at all, except it be absolute and insuperable; as by the Platonick Laws, only those persons are allowed to drink at their Neighbours well, that had in vain sought a Spring, by digging fifty cubits deep in their own ground. We allow the disburdening of a Ship, in imminent peril of wrack; But this will not excuse those, who upon a fond or feigned prævision of a State-tempest, shall immediately cast Law and Conscience over-board; discard, and quit Rudder and steerage, and so assist the danger they pretend to fear.

Cal. Rhodig. 1025.

Pausanias tells of a Chapel in *Acrocorinth*, dedicated to Necessity and Violence; those Twin-Goddesses may be fit objects for

worship of Heathens; but tis pitty they should be so much adored by Christians.

If I mistake not, the fundamental deceit lies in a greedy entertaining those first pretences, and seemingly candid Propositions are made to us, before they have passed those scrutinies, and severe inquiries they deserve; or been examined by the test of Gods word, and National Laws: all the rest are but ugly consequences of that absurdity we first granted; according to the antient Philosophick Maxim, Ἑνὸς Ἀτόπου δοθέντος, πολλὰ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστι συμβαίνειν.

Principle IX.

The Politician must wave all Relations, both Sacred and Civil, and swim to his design, though in a Sea of Blood.

Such as study to be great by any means, must by all means forget to be good; and they that will usurp dominion over others, must first become slaves to the worst of Tyrants, a lust after greatness.

Crescit interea Roma Albæ ruinis, begins one of the Decads, that the walls of *Rome* were cemented with blood, is known & commended by *Machiavel*; Although

Upon *Lib. l. 2. c. 3. The-*

though the ſuper-ſtructure was brave, yet if we ſearch the foundation, we ſhall find it laid in the red ruines of her waſted Neighbours; that the firſt Founder became a fratricide upon reaſon of State, to guard his new Conqueſt, by freedome from a Competitor, is not only vindicated from cruelty, but aſſerted to be a piece of meritorious policy. Nor did this happen to the City in its ſtructure alone, but after in its repatation; when the Sons of *Brutus* were ſacrifiz'd to the deſign of their Father: So that *Rome* was not only nurſ'd with blood, but after grouth and ripeneſs, ſhe ſuſtained her ſelf, lived and thrived upon *Magna & ſanguinolenta latrocinia*; ſo that our Politician can ſcarce want examples in the applauded actions of this City, to patronize the moſt

be maritum, Timoleon fratrem, Gaſſius filium, hoc jure interfecêre.

crimſon and ſcarlet ſin, that ambition can prompt.

He admires the generoſity of *Nero's* Mother, who is reported to have ſaid of her Son, Ἀποκτεινάτω με, μόνον βασιλευσάτω, Let my Son be my murderer, ſo he may be a Monarch: According to the adviſe of an high ſpirited fury, *Pro Regno velim patriam, penates, conjugem flammis dare, Imperia pretio quolibet conſtant bene*: An Empire cannot be purchaſed too dear, though it coſt the blood of Millions.

He is much taken with the Gallantry of the *Mamalukes*, who abuſed the eaſineſs of the Ægyptian *Sultan*, and wore the Supremacy three hundred years, upon the length and keenneſs of an uſurping Sword.

And rather than want a Bongrace, he commends the *Ottoman* wiſdom; for the great *Turk* rivets him-

himself to the Imperial Chair, with the bones of his murdered Brethren. Aspiring desires are not only insatiate, but admit of any sin that will promote their ends: See *Bassianus* murthering his Brother *Geta* in his Mothers arms; *Andronicus* strangling his Cousin *Alexius*, lest he should have a part in the Empire that had right to all; See *Cæsar* slighting the Oaths by which he had obliged his obedience to the *Roman* Senate.

Finally, Ambition knows no confinement, nothing so sacred, but it violates. The Gods must bow and yield to it, as *Tertullian*, *Id negotium sine Deorum injuria non est, eadem strages mœnium & Templorum; tot sacrilegia Romanorum, quot trophæa; tot de Diis quot de Gentibus Triumphi*; *'Tis impossible to be ambitious without injury to the Gods*; *Temples* *In Apologet.*

themſelves are not exempted from the fury of Warr; the ſacrileges of the Romans *were as numerous as their Trophies, yet the Gods followed their triumphant Chariots.*

Cola-

Colaſterion.

THe *Italian* Politician ſeems to intimate a ſcruple, when he ſayes, --- *Si jus violandum eſt, regnandi cauſa violandum eſt.* His (If) dictates an uncertainty; and if we appeal to the barr of Nature, or Divinity (though poſſibly the entire aſſertion may have ſomething of truth) yet we ſhall find that wicked (if) abſolutely baniſhed.

Tis true, we may more juſtly pitty him, that ſwallows a bait fair and glittring, than a perſon that tempts temptations to deceive him; or catches at Flies, and trifling allurements; becauſe in the firſt caſe a greater reluctancy is requiſite, and the dart may poſſibly be ſo ſharp, as to peirce through the Armour of a ſober Reſolution; but all this will little ſuc-

ſuccour him, who knows it to be a bait, and hath beforehand deſigned it's Beauty, and Fairneſs, to apologize for the foulneſs of the ſin: for here the greatneſs of the Temptation will not at all extenuate the groſsneſs of the crime: No more than he mitigates his Robbery, who ſhall plead, that he ſtole nothing but Gold and Jewels.

The World is much miſtaken in the value of a Scepter or Crown, we gaze upon it's brightneſs, and forget its brittleneſs; we look upon its glory, and forget its frailty; we reſpect its colour, and take no notice of it's weight. But if all thoſe gay things which we fondly fancy to our ſelves, were really to be found in Greatneſs, yet ſtill he pays too dear, that pawns his Heaven for it; he that thus buyes a ſhort bliſs, gives not twenty or an hundred years

years purchaſe; but (if mercy prevent not) Eternity.

It will be little advantage here, to introduce the example of a *Roman*, or *Turk*, or *Chriſtian*, if unlawfull; ſuch Preſidents may baffle the Vulgar (in whoſe Creed you may inſert what you pleaſe) but will be very cold anſwers, when we appear before a ſevere Tribunal: It concerns us rather to obſerve how ambition claims kindred with every other vice, ſtoops and takes up every ſin lies in its way; and if, upon enquiry, we find it to be indeed ſuch a complicated miſchief, it will become us ſtudiouſly to ſhun it our ſelves, and ſeriouſly to deteſt it in others.

Prin-

Principle X.

A general Innovation contributes much to the growth and ſecurity of Uſurpation.

WE may receive this as a Tradition, handed to us from the great Patriarchs of Policy, atteſted by the practice of the ſubtileſt times; I preſume it may be grounded upon theſe, or the like perſwaſions.

1. Becauſe ſuch an Innovation raiſes the duſt, and begets a cloud for the main deſign; for when the waters are troubled, 'tis hard to ſee the bait.

2. Becauſe the Parentheſis betwixt an old and new Government, flatters the hopes of all parties, ſoothing thoſe deſires that are for a relapſe into the old, and

and yet incouraging thoſe that wiſh for the eſtabliſhment of a new.

3. Becauſe when all things are reduced into a Chaos and rude heap, when all the Lines and Lineaments of the former Government are blotted out, that which is new written will be more legible, and the old ſooner forgotten: for ſuppoſe a Kingdome made a Lump, without ſhape and void, and it is like *materia prima*, prone to imbrace any form; when an Inſtrument is diſtun'd, you may ſet it to what key you pleaſe; and he that cannot ſometimes looſen the ſtrings, will never make good muſick upon *Syneſius* his Harp.

4. Becauſe by new moulding of Juriſdictions, and Offices of State, there may be a fair opportunity offered, of gratifying thoſe

that

that have ſerv'd us; and for others, its very familiar to ſee ſome ſtubborn and rigid opinators, who have continued long unſhaken, either by threat or argument, at length to ſurrender their Principles, and bow the knee before the Dagon of Honour and Riches; ſuch is the flexanimous power of golden Eloquence, as it is in the *Adage.*

Τὴν Ἀρετὴν ἢ τὴν σοφίαν νικῶσι χελῶνες.

The two great Pillars which the mind uphold,
Not being Mammon-proof, do bow to gold.

Beſides, we can find no better way to breed an abſolute dependence, and make others adhere to our Fortunes, than by winding the concernments of other men upon the ſame bottom with our intereſt; we may obſerve this from

from the practice of great Favourites, who alwayes delight in these props, and are carefull to set their whole Tribes in the Sun-shine of favour.

5. Because such a generous Deordination gives a taste and relish to the succeeding Government, though in its self not so delectable; for *Aristotle* notes, that Democracy is better than Anarchy. 3 *Pol.*

There are many other advantages to be made by a due improvement of those turbid intervals; as the occasion of subdividing, and parcelling out your great end; for by this means, they which refused to close with it in gross, will receive it in retail: and having entertained some portions of it, the grudge they bore to the whole, will be by degrees quieted and appeas'd.

Besides, when all things are ruffled

ruffled and confuſed, it is then the Devils Holy day, and therefore our Workeday; The noiſe is ſo loud, that it drowns the voice of the Law; and there may be ſome truth in his waggery, who ſaid, That ſuch as mean to commit Rape upon the Body politick, muſt put out the Laws; as others upon a like occaſion uſe to put out the Lights.

Finally, if we ever hope to ſin with Impunity, to uſurp Proſperouſly, or to govern Arbitrarily; we muſt take out that Leſſon in *Plautus*.

Idem facere, quod plurimi alii quibus Res timida aut Turbida eſt; Perquæ turbare uſque, ut ne quid poſſit conquieſcere.

If my own affairs require,
I can ſet the State on fire,
Let the ruin'd Kingdom bleed,
So my private ends may ſpeed,
I can dance in ſuch a ſtorm,
'Tis a new way to reform. Cola-

Colasterion.

TIs moſt certain, that ſiniſter ends are promoted by Innovations; but it lies in our boſomes, to promote or quench the Innovations themſelves: which we can no way better do, than by a ſtrict adherence to the Laws; for as long as we maintain them, they will maintain us: If we obſerve theſe, it will reſcue us from the hands of State-Noveliſts; for we are not fit for their turns, till we are croſs-byaſſed wi th faction.

As a caution againſt changes in Government, give me leave to repeat, what was long ſince told us by an ingenious Lord; -- That all great mutations are dangerous; even where what is introduc'd by that mutation, is ſuch *Faulkland.*

as would have been very profitable upon a primary foundation: and it is none of the least dangers of change, that all the perils and inconveniencies which it brings, cannot be foreseen; and therefore such as make title to wisdom, will not undergo great dangers, but for great necessities.

But further let me appeal to general experience; yea, let me ask thee (Reader) if thou hast never before heard, or read of a Nation; that was once the gaze and envy of its Neighbours; and yet being insensible of its happiness, or possest with fond hopes of bettering its condition, has closed with pretended friends, and real enemies, and gladly contributed to it's own ruine?

So apt men are to catch at the shadow, though they hazard the substance: we may guess at the moral of the Frogs in the Fable,

who could find no ſatisfaction in a ſtill Prince, and were after forced to abide the ſeverities of a Tyrant they prayed for.

But if there be ſuch diſtempers in a State, as ſhall neceſſarily require amendment, let it be done with the Pruning-hook of the Law, and not with the Sword of violence; For I never read, that Illegal, or Tumultuous, or Rebellious, were fit Epithets for Reformation. And 'tis fit Chriſtians ſhould forbear the uſe of ſuch ſurly Phyſick, till they have levied a Fine in the Court of Heaven, and out of the Intail of the ſeventh Beatitude.

This may ſuffice to reveal in ſome meaſure *Arcanum Ambitionis*, ὑποφηναίας μυστήριον. I could add much more, but that I judge it a fitter task for our Nephews, when Pens ſhall be infranchiſed.

And now (Reader) let us mix our prayers, that God would for ever baniſh this curſed Policy out of *Europe*, and the whole Chriſtian World; and damn it down to Hell, from whence originally it came: and let ſuch as delight to abuſe others, think of that ſelf-couſenage, with which in the interim they abuſe themſelves; God permitting the Devil to revenge the Impoſture. And whilſt we are buſie with Politick ſtratagems, and tortious arms to invade the rights of others; let us all conſider, that this is not the violence which takes Heaven.

Let it be a piece of our dayly Craiſons, that God would guard our Pulpits from ſuch Boutefeus, as like *Ætna* and *Veſuvius*, belched out nothing but flames and fiety diſcourſes, uſing the Scripture as prepoſtrouſly and impertinently, as ſome Pontificians, who

who transported with the vehemence of *Hildebrand*'s zeal, think the temporal Monarchy of Popes sufficiently Scriptural from the saying of Christ to *Peter* -- *Pasce oves*. Far be it from us to intitle the Spirit of God to exorbitant Doctrines: it is easie to distinguish the Vulture from the Dove. The miscarriages of the Clergy have a deeper stain from the sacredness of their function, as probably he that invenomed the Eucharist, has the more to answer for his Triple Crown.

It is manifest, that we are fallen into the dregs of time; we live in the rust of the Iron age, and must accordingly expect to feel, *Ultima senescentis mundi deliria*, the dotages of a decrepit World: what is become of truth, sincerity, charity, humility, those *Antiqui mores*, whither are they gone? Did they attend *Astræa* in-

to Heaven, and have left such degenerous successors, as cruelty, pride, fraud, envy, oppression? *&c.* Such qualities as abundantly justifie the worst of Heathens, and dishonour the name of Christians: I think it may safely be affirmed, that if a new *Europæ speculum* were sincerely written, it might be contracted into this short Summary;

Novi ego hoc seculum quibus moribus sit; Malus bonum malum esse vult, ut sit sui similis; turbant, miscent mores mali; Rapax, Avarus, Invidus, sacrum prophanum, publicum privatum habebit.

I know the various humours of our times;
He that is wicked now, inflames his crimes,
By making Proselytes to Hell, & he
Joys in it, that he may have company

In

In rapines, murders, thefts; now none can have
His own, except he be like them, a Knave.
The Church is ſtript by ſacrilegious hands,
They that divided all, divide the Lands.

Hiulca Gens, &c.

Wolves are of late turn'd Shepherds, ſurely we
That have ſuch Guardians, are extremely free.

THat Eternal Majeſty, which raiſed ſo brave a Fabrick out of ſuch indiſpoſed materials; that wields the world with his finger ever ſince it was made; that controules the Waves, and checks the tumult of the people; that ſits above, and laughs at the malignant Counſels, and deviſes

viſes of witked men: Let his mercy be implored for the ſpeedy ſuccour of his diſtreſſed Church; That the Rod of *Aaron* may bloſſom; That the Tabernacle of *David* may be raiſed; That the ſubtile may be caught in their own ſnare; And that the Reſult of all afflictions may be the greatning his Glory, and exalting of his Scepter.

FINIS.

Books printed for *Thomas Dring*, and are to be ſold at the *George* in *Fleet-ſtreet*, neer *Clifford's Inn*.

Law Books.

THe Reports of that Reverend and Learned Judge, Sir Rich. Hutton *Knight, in fol.*

The twelfth part of the Reports by Sir Edw. Cook, *in fol.*

The Reports of that learned Judge Owen, *in fol.*

The Reading upon the Statute touching Bankrupts, by John Stone, *in Octavo.*

The Law of Conveyances of all manner

ner of Assurances, with directions to sue out and prosecute all manner of writs, by John Hern *Gent. in large Oct.*

An Abridgement of the Common Law, with the Cases thereof, drawn out of all the old and new Books of Law, for the benefit of all practicers and Students, by W. H. *of* Grays Inn, *Esquire.*

An Abridgement of the Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, by W. H. *of* Grays Inn, *Esq.*

The Reports of Serjeant Bridgeman, *in fol.*

The Grounds of the Laws of England, *extracted out of the* Fountain of all Learning, *and fitted for all Students and Practitioners.*

Artamenes, *or the* Grand Cyrus, a Romance *compleat in five Volumes, by* Mounsieur de Scudery, *in fol.*

Cloelia, *an excellent* Romance, *by* Mounsieur Scudery, *in three volumes, and translated by* J.D. A-

Aſtrea, *an excellent* Romance, *full and compleat, in* 3 *Volumes in fol. and tranſlated by a Perſon of Quality.*

The Hiſtory of Philoſophy, *in two Volumes, by* Tho. Stanly *Eſq.*

The Hiſtory of the Warrs betwixt Sweden *and* Poland, *by* John Fowler, *in fol.*

Anti-Socinianiſm, *or a* Confutation *of the* Socinians *Hereſie, with a deſcription of the lives, and true relations of the deaths of the Authors and promoters of that Sect; and by whom it was brought into* England, *by* H. Chevvney *M. A.*

Mr. Cragge *againſt* Tombs *with a a Conviction of* Anabaptiſm.

The Life and Death of Freeman Sands, *Eſq, by* R. B.

An Exhortation for deſperate ſinners, written by that Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount Grandiſon, *Priſoner in the Tower.*

A Sermon preached at the Aſſiſes at Huntingdon, *by* J. Gaul. *Mr.*

Mr. Sands *Paraphraſe upon the* Pſalms, *in large Octavo.*

Good thoughts for every day in the Month, by D. S.

Gods houſe, with the nature and uſe thereof, as it ought to be underſtood and reſpected by the Chriſtians, under the Goſpel, by Symon Gunton *M. A.*

Eight Sermons by Mr. Cragge, *with a Treatiſe concerning the lawfulneſs of Marriage by the Miniſter.*

Mirſa, *A Tragedy really acted in* Perſia, *by* R. B. *in Octavo.*

Five new Plays, written by R. Brome, *in Oct.*

Amorous *Poems, by* Edw. Sherburn *Eſqʒ.*

Pocula Caſtalia, *by* R.B. *Eſqʒ.*

Poems by Will. Hammond *Eſqʒ.*

An Apology for Paris, *by* R.B. *Eſqʒ*

A Catalogue of the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen that have compounded for their Eſtates, with the

ſum

ſums that payed their Compoſitions.

The ſecond part of Maſſiniello, with a Continuation of that Tumult, by J. H. Eſq.

The Natural and Experimental Hiſtory of Winds, written by the Lord Bacon, and tranſlated into Engliſh, by R. G.

A Panegyrick of the Queen of Swedeland.

Letters of Affairs, Love, and Courtſhip, written to ſeveral perſons of Honor and Quality, by the exquiſite Pen of Monſieur de Voiture, a member of the famous French Academy, eſtabliſhed at Paris, by Cardinal de Richlew.

Londinopolis, an Hiſtorical diſcourſe of the City of London, whereunto is added another of the City of Weſtminſter, with the Courts of Juſtice, Antiquities, & new Buildings thereunto belonging, by J. Howel Eſq.

Modern Policy.

A Trance, *or* Mercurius Acheronticus, *by* J. Howel *Esq*.

Modern Policy, *taken from* Machiavel, Borgia, *and others, by an eye witness.*

A 959.